

DAILY BULLETIN

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(This column by Colin L. Powell, who is the U.S. secretary of state, was published in the Washington Post October 7 and is in the public domain. No republication restrictions.)

What Kay Found By Colin L. Powell

The interim findings of David Kay and the Iraq Survey Group make two things abundantly clear: Saddam Hussein's Iraq was in material breach of its United Nations obligations before the Security Council passed Resolution 1441 last November, and Iraq went further into breach after the resolution was passed.

Kay's interim findings offer detailed evidence of Hussein's efforts to defy the international community to the last. The report describes a host of activities related to weapons of mass destruction that "should have been declared to the U.N." It reaffirms that Iraq's forbidden programs spanned more than two decades, involving thousands of people and billions of dollars.

What the world knew last November about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs was enough to justify the threat of serious consequences under Resolution 1441. What we now know as a result of David Kay's efforts confirms that Hussein had every intention of continuing his work on banned weapons despite the U.N. inspectors, and that we and our coalition

partners were right to eliminate the danger that his regime posed to the world.

Although Kay and his team have not yet discovered stocks of the weapons themselves, they will press on in the months ahead with their important and painstaking work. All indications are that they will uncover still more evidence of Hussein's dangerous designs.

Before the war, our intelligence had detected a calculated campaign to prevent any meaningful inspections. We knew that Iraqi officials, members of the ruling Baath Party and scientists had hidden prohibited items in their homes.

Lo and behold, Kay and his team found strains of organisms concealed in a scientist's home, and they report that one of the strains could be used to produce biological agents. Kay and his team also discovered documents and equipment in scientists' homes that would have been useful for resuming uranium enrichment efforts.

Kay and his team have "discovered dozens of WMD-related program activities and significant amounts of equipment that Iraq concealed from the United Nations during the inspections that began in late 2002. The discovery ... has come about both through the admissions of Iraqi scientists and officials concerning information they deliberately withheld and through physical evidence of equipment and activities that the Iraq Survey Group has discovered that should have been declared to the U.N."

The Kay Report also addresses the issue of suspected mobile biological agent laboratories: "Investigation into the origin of and intended use for the two trailers found in northern Iraq in April has yielded a number of explanations, including hydrogen, missile propellant and BW [biological warfare] production, but technical limitations would prevent any of these processes from being ideally suited to these trailers. That said, nothing ... rules out their potential use in BW production." Here Kay's findings are inconclusive. He is continuing to work this issue.

Kay and his team have, however, found this: "A clandestine network of laboratories and safe houses within the Iraqi Intelligence Service that contained equipment subject to U.N. monitoring and suitable for continuing CBW [chemical-biological weapons] research." They also discovered: "a prison laboratory complex, possibly used in human testing of BW agents, that Iraqi officials

working to prepare for U.N. inspections were explicitly ordered not to declare to the U.N."

The Kay Report confirms that our intelligence was correct to suspect the al-Kindi Co. of being involved in prohibited activity. Missile designers at al-Kindi told Kay and his team that Iraq had resumed work on converting SA-2 surface-to-air missiles into ballistic missiles with a range of about 250 kilometers, and that this work continued even while UNMOVIC inspectors were in Iraq. The U.N.-mandated limit for Iraq was a range of 150 kilometers.

The Kay Report also confirmed our prewar intelligence that indicated Iraq was developing missiles with ranges up to 1,000 kilometers. Similarly, Kay substantiated our reports that Iraq had tested an unmanned aerial vehicle to 500 kilometers, also in violation of U.N. resolutions.

What's more, he and his team found that elaborate efforts to shield illicit programs from inspection persisted even after the collapse of Hussein's regime. Key evidence was deliberately eliminated or dispersed during the postwar period. In a wide range of offices, laboratories and companies suspected of developing weapons of mass destruction, computer hard drives were destroyed, files were burned and equipment was carefully cleansed of all traces of use -- and done so in a pattern that was clearly deliberate and selective, rather than random.

One year ago, when President Bush brought his concerns about Iraq to the United Nations, he made it plain that his principal concern in a post-Sept. 11 world was not just that a rogue regime such as Saddam Hussein's had WMD programs, but that such horrific weapons could find their way out of Iraq into the arms of terrorists who would have even fewer compunctions about using them against innocent people across the globe.

In the interim report, Kay and his team record the chilling fact that they "found people, technical information and illicit procurement networks that if allowed to flow to other countries and regions could accelerate global proliferation."

Having put an end to that harrowing possibility alone justifies our coalition's action against Hussein's regime. But that is not the only achievement of our brave men and women in uniform and their coalition partners.

Three weeks ago I paid my respects at a mass grave in the northern city of Halabja, where on a Friday morning

in March 1988, Hussein's forces murdered 5,000 men, women and children with chemical weapons. Saddam Hussein can cause no more Halabjas. His "Republic of Fear" no longer holds sway over the people of Iraq. For the first time in three decades, the Iraqi people have reason to hope for the future.

President Bush was right: This was an evil regime, lethal to its own people, in deepening material breach of its Security Council obligations, and a threat to international peace and security. Hussein would have stopped at nothing until something stopped him. It's a good thing that we did.

(The writer is secretary of state.)

U.S. CONTINUES PUSH FOR NEW IRAQ RESOLUTION

Negroponte says U.S. will not accept major changes to draft

By Judy Aita
Washington File Staff Writer

United Nations -- The United States will press ahead with efforts to win Security Council approval of its proposed resolution authorizing a multinational force and increasing the role of the United Nations in Iraq, U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte said October 7.

Discussing the future of the U.S. draft at a press conference, Negroponte ruled out any major changes in the text.

"It is certainly still our intent at the moment to press ahead with this resolution. The preferred position at the moment would be to try to get a resolution completed and voted and approved as quickly as possible," the ambassador said.

"We're sensitive to the reactions of the various delegations and we're going to try to develop our best possible assessment of what kind of support any resolution we put down would enjoy," he said.

The United States had hoped to have the resolution adopted before an Iraq donors meeting in Madrid October 24. However, the ambassador said he told the council

members that "if in the coming days we put forward a resolution with the idea of bringing it to an early vote that they shouldn't expect any significant or radical departures from the resolution they have before them. I stand by that statement."

"We think it is a good resolution. We think it takes into account many comments made by delegations beforehand," said Negroponte, the chief U.S. envoy to the United Nations.

The United States presented a revised draft of its resolution to the Security Council on October 2, and the council then held a three-hour closed-door meeting to discuss the details of the resolution October 6. When he emerged from the session, Negroponte characterized it as "very thorough but inconclusive" and said that the other 14 members of the council were going to take a "brief pause" to evaluate their position on the draft.

The ambassador did not give any indication of when, or with what changes, the United States would present the draft resolution in "blue" -- the so-called final form of the draft on which the council would then be expected to vote within 24 hours.

Diplomats representing other council members said after the meeting that as the draft stands it could win approval but not with the unanimous or overwhelming majority vote that the United States would like to have as an indication of the international community's support for Iraq.

In order to pass, the draft needs nine positive votes with no vetoes from any of the five permanent members of the council.

The United States initially circulated a draft resolution in August that would include, among other things, an expanded role for the United Nations and the start of the process toward Iraqi self-government. The draft was the subject of intense negotiations during the opening of the U.N. General Assembly in September, when President Bush, other heads of state and foreign ministers were in New York. The October 2 draft is a result of those talks.

U.S. officials have emphasized that the proposed resolution clarifies the issue of transferring full authority to the Iraqis and gives an expanded role to the United Nations, as Secretary General Kofi Annan himself suggested in a July report.

Negroponte said, as he has several times in the past weeks, that the United States “envisages a strengthened vital role for the United Nations,” but he acknowledged that in light of the bombing of U.N. headquarters in Baghdad, which killed 22 including U.N. special envoy Sergio Vieira de Mello, “the ability of the U.N. at this particular moment to contribute to that part of the process is definitely restricted.”

“But we think, as conditions permit, the United Nations definitely should have the opportunity to play the vital role we wish to see,” he said.

The U.S. draft also provides for the multinational force to be under a U.N. authorized unified command, but it would not be a U.N.-directed “blue helmet” operation. The United States would command the force and report periodically to the Security Council.

Security Council authorization of the multinational force, Negroponte said, “would be an additional positive factor that might encourage some countries to further consider the contribution of troops.”

STATE’S RIES SAYS U.S., EU MUST MOVE FORWARD ON TRADE, GROWTH

Remarks to Baltic Development Forum Summit in Riga

The United States and the European Union “must move forward from the Cancun disappointment both with a shared commitment to find ways to promote global economic growth and to help alleviate the poverty,” said State Department official Charles Ries October 7.

In his remarks to the Baltic Development Forum Summit in Riga October 7, Ries offered the U.S. perspective on the recent Cancun World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting and the U.S.-EU trade relationship.

While the United States is still analyzing what took place at Cancun, he said, two lessons have already been drawn:

-- “The trade negotiation environment today is far more

complex than in the past. There are more actors that have to be accommodated and more issues on the table.”

-- “The second lesson from Cancun is that WTO members need to come to the table prepared to negotiate.... The WTO will only be successful if developed and developing countries both assert their individual interests and accept a sense of mutual responsibility.”

“Helping developing countries to benefit from global trade integration simply cannot be a one-way street where developed countries make all the compromises and concessions,” said Ries, the State Department’s principal deputy assistant secretary for European and Eurasian affairs. “In order to enjoy a healthy trading system and a strong economy, developing countries must be willing and able to import as well as export.”

He said that the breakdown in Cancun occurred “over measures that would have facilitated trade and helped land-locked countries by ensuring prompt release of goods, publication of procedures, and timely and fair rulings on customs questions. These common sense steps are in the interest of all; their rejection was a political statement. Sadly, this decision was emblematic of a broader culture of protest that defined victory in terms of political acts rather than economic results.”

The U.S.-EU trade relationship, he suggested, is “a better model for how to reduce barriers to trade.” While the United States and the EU have disagreements, both “fundamentally agree on open transatlantic -- and global -- trading systems.”

And despite some disagreements, he said, the United States and the EU “must move forward,” especially on the issues of agricultural biotechnology and growth.

Concerning biotechnology, Ries said the United States “seeks scientific, rules-based review of applications as the WTO requires.”

“We will work this issue through the WTO because ... we agree on a rules-based system that applies fairly to all. We hope for a speedy resolution that allows us all to realize the benefits of this technology free from the superstitions that have tinged the debate thus far,” he said.

Concerning the current global economic downturn, Ries said, “The U.S. can’t be the sole engine of growth to lead the world out of these economic doldrums. The current

weak Eurozone economy presents an opportunity to address fundamental problems which have slowed growth in Europe, including rigid labor markets and excessive regulation.”

He proposed the Baltic Sea region, with its higher growth rates than the rest of Europe, as “a model for good business practices that stimulate employment and investment.”

Ries also suggested that the Baltic states constitute “a model for the world” and urged his audience to share their “wisdom with other nations and regions.”

PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VITAL FOR SECURITY, AMB. SMITH SAYS

Pamela Hyde Smith at OSCE Human Dimension Implementation Meeting in Warsaw

“We cannot attempt to address the threat to the stability of our region if we do not deal with ensuring the fundamental human and democratic rights of our populations,” Ambassador Pamela Hyde Smith told the opening plenary of the annual OSCE Human Dimension Implementation meeting, which this year is taking place in Warsaw.

“The promotion of human rights is vital for security. It is a fight against the greed, aggression and abuses that foster conflicts,” said Smith, the head of the U.S. delegation to the two-week meeting.

“By our collective efforts, we can give support to those governments trying to make changes that are sometimes difficult for their societies to accept,” she said at the opening plenary October 6.

Ambassador Smith concluded her remarks by urging the delegates to see the meeting as “a catalyst for producing innovative approaches to the human dimension. It should give us new perspectives and a renewed commitment to the power of those ideas enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act.”

Following is a text of Smith’s remarks:

United States Mission to the OSCE Warsaw

U.S. Delegation to the OSCE Implementation Meeting
October 6, 2003

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The United States considers the OSCE, and this Human Dimension Meeting, to be essential resources in our core objective of promoting democratic development and respect for human rights throughout the vast OSCE region. This year marks the tenth anniversary of this forum, the single most important human dimension activity on the busy OSCE calendar. Over the past decade, we have pushed to strengthen this platform and highlight it as a vital link between the Organization and the NGO community. We consider the protection of human rights a fundamental responsibility of each of our States, one that ensures human dignity, security, and prosperity. We cannot attempt to address the threat to the stability of our region, if we do not deal with ensuring the fundamental human and democratic rights of our populations. The United States is committed to drawing attention to the work we do here and reinforcing these efforts in capitals.

The reason for this is simple.

The promotion of human rights is vital for security. It is a fight against the greed, aggression and abuses that foster conflicts. But the process of protecting human rights is continual.

Every generation learns for itself that it must enter the struggle if it is to protect human rights. All of us must stay alert as challenges change and new protections are needed. Outside the U.S. National Archives Building in Washington stands a monument that says, “Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty.” That vigilance is the heart of this meeting.

The beauty of the OSCE Human Dimension Meeting is that it lets us assess our progress and renew our commitments in a room with nations that hold common values. We all have signed the Helsinki Final Act that launched this process. As Andrei Sakharov aptly observed, “The whole point of the Helsinki Accords is mutual monitoring, not mutual evasion of difficult problems.”

We all know where we stand. We can speak freely here. Because of this openness, we have the opportunity to look candidly at current issues and challenges, as well as encourage those who are struggling to solve problems

that have long and difficult histories. By our collective efforts, we can give support to those governments trying to make changes that are sometimes difficult for their societies to accept.

It is the responsibility of every government to listen to these views, and to allow freedom of media and freedom of speech to give voice to these debates. It is also the responsibility of every government to ensure that victims of human rights violations have redress, through an independent judiciary system. Respect for human rights and the implementation of our common OSCE commitments are the responsibility of our governments. We can discuss over the next two weeks how the OSCE can assist States in implementing their commitments, but the will to do so must come from the States themselves.

Mr. Chairman, we are also confronted with the reality that some have simply stopped trying and reverted to authoritarianism and worse. I would like to raise one pressing example of this - namely, Turkmenistan - and I do so in hopes of sparking a discussion during this meeting that might result in ideas for ameliorating the situation there. There are also pressing concerns elsewhere, especially in the Republic of Belarus.

The new era of democracy boldly proclaimed in the Charter of Paris has yet to be realized throughout the OSCE region, notwithstanding the courage of individual men and women, the strength of the will of the people, and the power of the ideas of the Helsinki Final Act.

Mr. Chairman, I said the Human Dimension meeting was important, but I did not say it was painless. Every nation here has felt discomfort from time to time as the spotlight is turned on its problems. And often the pressures felt in Warsaw are just an extension of critical opinions voiced at home. The conversations that take place here usually reflect pressures that are brought to bear elsewhere. In the United States, for example, we have had animated public discussions during the past year across the spectrum of public policy issues, from the conduct of elections to the right to privacy, to the imposition of the death penalty and the detention of suspected terrorists. Those and many more human rights concerns are still very much in play among the critical American public.

The triumph of democracy is, of course, that these debates take place, not just occasionally in hushed rooms, but continuously, loudly and pervasively. And from this come the efforts to keep improving our records and

inventing new solutions. That is the opportunity we all have here.

Mr. Chairman, our aim should be to inspire and promote directed action. At its best, this forum should be a catalyst for producing innovative approaches to the human dimension. It should give us new perspectives and a renewed commitment to the power of those ideas enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act. As President Bush has noted, "Freedom is the non-negotiable demand of human dignity." May our work here in Warsaw respond to that demand.

In closing, I wish to note with respect that today is Yom Kippur, the most solemn day of Judaism, which takes on special importance given our venue and the goals of this meeting.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Please Note: Most texts and transcripts mentioned in the U.S. Mission Daily Bulletin are available via our homepage www.usmission.ch. Select "Washington File" from the drop-down menu under "News."